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A CLOSE LOOK AT THE DEFEAT
OF DIRECT ACTION

NOTABLE RECRUITS TO BRITISH
LABOR PARTY

OTTAWA, LONDON AND SCOTTISH LETTERS

From Our Own Correspondents.

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OFCANADA

MONTREAL, APRIL 24th, 1920

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VANCOUVER, B.C.

Back To Basic Things

(By George Pierce.)

THE week has resounded with the turbulences of industrial conflict. There are few people who comprehend the meaning, the deep significance, of this restless movement of the masses.

It has become habitual to centre the mind upon the striking daily developments, while the causes seem pretty generally to be ignored.

When thousands of sober, industrious and intelligent men smash the restraint imposed, the discipline, of trades unionism to the extent of violating their contracts, sacrificing their insurance benefits and impoverishing themselves and their families, then it must be admitted that a powerful actuating motive, an impelling cause, must exist. If this cause has precisely the same effect upon workers who are widely separated, who are adherent to many different religious, political and social ways, then, by a process of elimination, it is comparatively easy to isolate the cause.

Since neither religion, politics nor nationality interferes with the cohesion of the turbulent mass movement, our attention becomes automatically directed to the economic side of the question.

What is it, then, that masses together thousands of men in common protest and in open combat with established laws, customs and the old voluntary discipline devised and accepted by trades unionists to govern the movement?

There is no out-ery for limitation of profits, there is no campaign for a levy on capital wealth, there is no protest against taxation to pay the bills of the war, there is no political excitement, there are no religious wars, there is no racial conflict, there is no indication that the masses are concertedly seeking to confiscate the riches of the wealthy.

The simple, self-evident truth is, that the burden of living, the business of life, is weighing so heavily upon the masses of the people at exactly the same time, in precisely the same way, with the identical results that its effect cements the conditions into one great grief, into one great human agony, into one exasperating crucifixion. Misery is the adhesive pus that binds the stricken into a great and angry wound—the strike.

Nobody is thoughtfully responsible. The railroad officials did not invite it. With the Government it is an unwelcome guest, with the men an agony, with the women and the children a ghostly shadow, a nightmare of terrors; to all good citizens it is a great regret.

Gompers said the other day that this was no time to rock the boat and we quite agree. There are many in the boats who cannot swim the strong industrial tides. The great rank and file of the trades

union movement would suffer a terrible calamity if discipline were generally thrown to the winds and the movement disrupted, because the great mass of the workers cannot possibly attain the goal for which they have striven many years except by organization, and organization implies direction and momentum, and these can never be effective except through discipline.

It is a time for clear, cool-headed, hard thinking. We must begin by recognizing the cause, and then all, the employer and the employee, the rich and the poor men, the church and the state, all must co-ordinate to remove the cause. Since the cessation of the war, officials of all groups have concerned themselves too much with expediencies which would temper the effect. They have been afraid or unfit to deal with causes.

We believe in going to the root of things. We have a fondness for fundamentals; that is why we are so firmly attached to the idea of a Tariff Board. Its principle is basic. It is essentially fundamental, it takes hold of the causes of the tariff issue. Politics and sentiment are detached from it. It is a machinery which can feed out fundamental justice to all Canadians. We believe the establishment of this

board to be the foundation stone upon which we can build the future happiness of the Canadian people. We will confess we are not attempting to solve world problems. If we put our own house in order, we will probably accomplish a great deal more than those who are intent on arranging the domestics of all neighboring nations.

If the natural resources, the industry, the agriculture, of the country in which we live is to be developed, we will need to devise ways and means of doing it. Our neighbors will not arrange the mat-

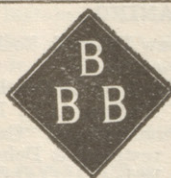
ter for us. The industrial establishment we will begin of these natural resources will necessarily be small and weak financially and industrially. In the beginning they will need a great division of protection to insure their success during this period of development. Practically all trades unions and all union leaders favor a practical protective tariff, adjusted by a Tariff Board to insure steady growth and development, so that the greatest number of Canadian workmen will be employed in the new industries.

As expansion proceeds, it will be the function of the Tariff Board to regulate the tariff to special needs and to protect the consumer against extortion. This principle is fundamental, it is basic; if it were widely applied to make the delicate adjustments necessary to a tranquil relationship between brain and brawn, between employer and employee, between the producer and the consumer, between the state and the people, the gaping wound of industrial disturbances could be effectively healed.

The business of living is grim business. Cool heads and warm hearts,—these are the needs of the hour.

Fashion Note

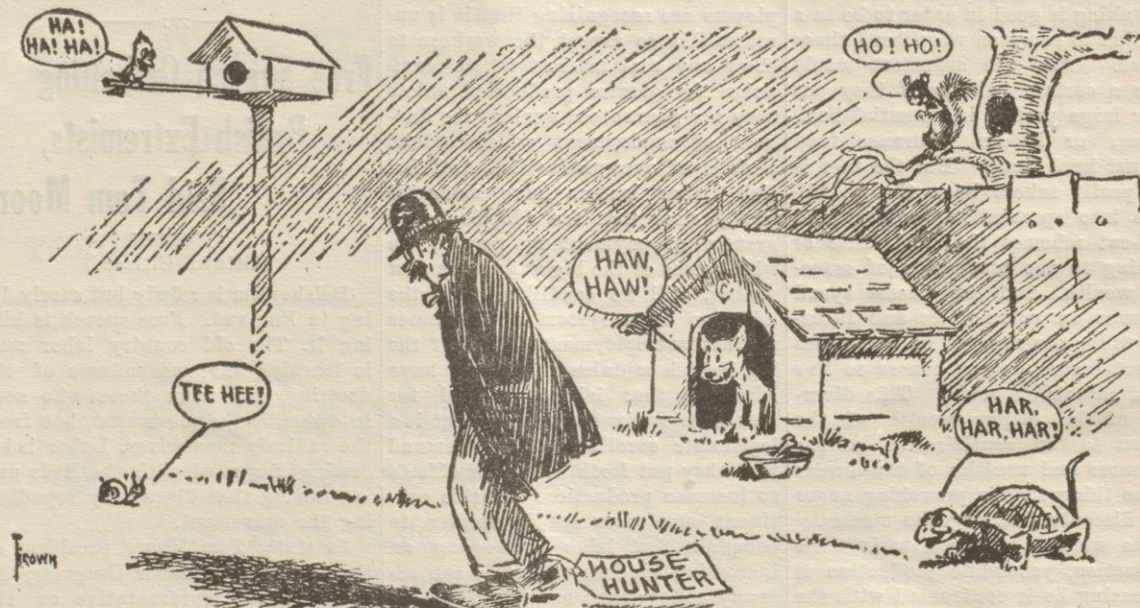
A smile is cooler in summer and warmer in winter than a frown.—Yonkers Statesman.



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SUPERIOR MAN



THE "paramount issue" in this country is not politics nor policies, but food and fuel, clothes and houses. These are the four foundation-stones on which our national life must rest. You will search the speeches of candidates and the pro-

grammes of parties in vain for any mention of these. They all guarantee to produce new laws, but none of them promises to install a system that will abolish the annual anxiety about coal; none of them descends to so simple a task as the provision of enough

houses for the people. It would be an indication that common sense had broken into politics, if some of these pressing questions were promised the attention of the national government.

Henry Ford.

Insurance for Employer and Employee

(By COLIN McKAY.)

"How would you deal with the profiteers?" asked the heckler.

"The only profiteer I know is the Government which takes our excess profits," answered Allan Schofield, candidate for Mayor of St. John, N. B.

The Board of Commerce has not discovered many profiteers. And from the point of view of the business man, the manufacturer or trader is not more of a profiteer than the worker who demands high wages. What we are suffering from is really a speeding up of the whole system of profit-making. Competition is no longer operative in the sense of the old political economy; it does not tend to reduce prices to the lowest level. Young men who would normally have established businesses went to war for four or five years, and now the first cost of setting up a business is prohibitive for young men of small resources. Moreover, during the last seven years all businesses in the country, manufacturing, wholesale and retail, have formed associations which preach the new doctrine that co-operation is the life of business. Anti-trust and combine legislation has become a dead letter.

Most business men freely admit that they are taking larger profits; they plead in defence higher expenses and greater risks—principally the greater risks and uncertainty as to the future. They say they are justified in taking good profits while the taking is good in order to be in a position to carry on when hard times arrive. And the argument would have a certain validity if they put their large profits in essential businesses, or in an insurance fund against hard times. But the fact is the profit takers have thrown billions into speculative ventures and wild-cat schemes that add little or nothing to the production of essential wealth. And the classes spend fortunes on automobiles and luxuries, while the masses in our cities cannot secure decent houses to live in at reasonable rents. This diversion of the surplus wealth of the nation to the gratification of the pleasures and vanities of the classes is the thing that is provoking anger and discontent among the masses.

The worker is urged to increase production, yet while production is increasing he is confronted with the fact that prices always advance before wages, and at the same time he is warned that the increased production will lead to over-production and a period of business depression, and scarcity of employment. It is an uninviting prospect that is held out to him. While he is helping to increase production he must not expect any particular benefits because the business men must have their big profit to fortify themselves against the hard times they believe to be ahead, and

when the goal of greater production is reached, his case will be more hopeless than ever.

In Britain, where the need of increased production is obvious, big employers are recognizing that it is unreasonable to expect the workers to show any real interest in the campaign for greater production unless they are guaranteed against the dangers of employment which attend periods of over-production. And British Labor leaders have made it pretty clear that the adoption of a system of payment by results, on which some of the big unions are now voting, will be conditional on the adoption of a system of insurance against unemployment. Many of the big British captains of industry have admitted that labor's demand for insurance against unemployment is a legitimate corollary of the demand that they put forth their best efforts to increase production. On this continent employers are beginning to complain that labor is showing an increasing tendency towards the canny policy; they have need to consider the implications of the view that canny is not a sign of depravity, but labor's instinctive method of delaying the speeding up of production and the hard times which follow overproduction. Canadian business men insist on their right to take large profits now as a means of insurance against possible business depression in the future; and how can they expect the loyal co-operation of their workers unless they show an interest in the development

of a system which will insure labor against the evils of unemployment, which, by their own logic, is a possibility of the future.

Colin McKay.

Free Speech Offsetting British Extremists, Said Tom Moore

(Ottawa Citizen.)

Bolshevism is slowly but surely dying in England. Free speech is killing it. The old country labor man is learning the unsoundness of the doctrine, not from those who seek to discredit the movement, but from the radicals themselves. Labor is becoming disgusted with the Reds and is showing that disgust by repudiating the movement.

So states Tom Moore, president of the Trades and Labor Congress, Canada's labor representative on the International Labor Congress held in England under the auspices of the League of Nations during the past few weeks, who returned to Ottawa last night. Mr. Moore when seen by The Citizen had just returned and as yet had not prepared any report. The statements he made were merely in the nature of a conversation, and, as he said, he has not yet had time to collect his thoughts and discuss the events with the coherency he would like to. He just gave

the outstanding impressions obtained while in Europe attending the meetings.

Shock an Outsider.

Bolshevik soap box orators abound in Hyde Park, he said, and to a Canadian who has followed the Winnipeg trial come in the nature of a shock. Soviets for the British are openly advocated. Literature is openly sold on the streets which, if found in the possession of a person living in this country, would mean a term of imprisonment. If the agitators confine themselves to speech they are in no danger of interference, but any attempt at revolutionary action is quickly nipped in the bud. He cited a publication edited by Sylvia Pankhurst which advocates "revolutionary international socialism, the ending of capitalism and parliaments and the substitution of the workers' republics". This is sold wide-spread in London, and causes little or no comment. Mr. Moore intimated there might be a little lesson in this for the Dominion.

Change Living Standard.

The whole standard of living among the labor classes of Britain has changed, he asserted. Wages are on a par with those of Canada and the cost of living is about the same. The idea prevalent among Canadians and Americans that Europe, so far as labor conditions are concerned, is away behind America, is erroneous, and the people on this side will realize this with a gasp in the near future. Europe is rapidly catching up so far as wages and working conditions are concerned and is far ahead in many social matters. British workers are not Bolsheviks, but are undoubtedly rapidly moving toward state capital and control, especially in the key industries.

Farm Workers Organize.

One of the most interesting features in the labor circles in England is the new farm workers' organization which has a membership of 300,000. The members have secured a 46-hour week with extra pay for overtime. Not only the workers but the farmers appear to be satisfied with the innovation.

"The international labor office", stated Mr. Moore, "is going to play a most important part in the social progress of the workers throughout the entire world. The initial machinery has been completed. The possibilities are the permanent building will be in Geneva. This will be decided by a plebiscite of the Swiss government to be taken on the 17th of this month."

Canada Away Behind.

The fact that Canada is now only passing legislation giving the worker the right to organize when told at a meeting of the congress amazed the European delegates, and, added Mr. Moore, even made the Japanese representative broadly grin, and remark that Japan and Canada are on a level in that regard, for Japan is now passing similar legislation.

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Third Parties in Industrial Disputes

(New York Nation.)

The objection of the railway unions to the inclusion of "representatives of the public" in the adjustment board provided for by the Esch-Cummings act has just been given point by the agreement of the representatives of the operators and of the public on the President's Coal Commission, in opposition to Mr. White of the Miners. It is easy for anti-labor commentators to interpret this objection, now general among the unions, as evidence of a parochial spirit which cares for nothing but wage advances, no matter what the expense to the consumer. No one is louder in his expression of solicitude for the public in these circumstances than the employer himself, who makes use of the consumer's interest to condemn strikes in general, or, when a wage increased is asked, to announce that it can be granted only at the cost of higher prices. We shall miss an opportunity for valuable analysis of the industrial problem, however, if we accept uncritically the hostile estimates of labor's reasons for fearing the representatives of the public on boards of conciliation and arbitration. In any such board, the representatives of the employer and those of the employee not only stand for certain groups of people with announced aims. There is nothing hazy about the bases of their action; the representatives come together to negotiate about issues as concrete as are the issues between any seller and any buyer. Since they are likely to disagree, a third party injected into their counsels naturally holds the balance of power. It becomes, therefore, of supreme importance, especially in bargains directly affecting the daily bread of hundreds of thousands of workingmen and the prosperity of many business men concerned, who that party is and what leanings he is likely to have.

"We will furnish you with a representative of the public", says the government. "Very well", answers labor, "but what do you mean by the public. Do you mean the same thing that you meant when you appointed Judge Gary and Mr. Rockefeller as representatives of the public in the Industrial Conference. Are you going to give us another Palmer or Burleson? Where is the public? Is it to be found among the constituency of the New York Times? Is it the same privileged group that the newspapers talk about when they say that the public demands that all strikes cease and that strike leaders be thrown into jail? We represent a considerable public ourselves. We know what the working people want, and they make up a large proportion of the population. We prefer to fight the issue out on our own lines, as do buyers and sellers

of real estate, or wheat, or anything else of just as much importance to the public as the work of our hands, and of less importance to its proprietor."

Before it can be said that the public has an interest entitling it to representation on adjustment boards, one must be a little clearer about what he means by the public, what the public interest is, and how that interest can be so organized that its representative may really be respon-

sible to some visible constituency. Do we want the third representative of the third party to express the police powers of the state? Do we expect him to speak for all employers and all employees except those directly concerned? Should he care for the interests of that indeterminate group of persons who are neither employers nor employees? Should he be a representative of agriculture, as opposed to machine industry in general? Or should he see that the peculiar interests of the people as consumers are conserved? These functions differ from each other, and they have different implications.

If, for instance, the decisive factor is to be the police power, it is highly undesirable to exercise that power without first determining in

some detail its function and limits in industrial relations. If the state is to have a deciding voice in fixing wages and hours, it should use it according to principles framed for the general welfare. Must it not guarantee to the workers certain minima? Must not business be forced to bear the burden of these minima, no matter what readjustments they involve? And if the minimum is not to become a maximum, some standard of return on investment will have to be established in order to show how large an increase labor may justly demand. These and a hundred other questions, of no small complexity, need far more consideration than has yet been given them before the power of the state can wisely be applied in the matter.

—o:—

CHEERFUL CHARLIE

Charles M. Schwab tells us to laugh at present-day troubles, so let's take our cue from Charlie Schwab, and join the chuckling, laughing mob—

Ha! Ha! Bread's up another cent;
Ho! Ho! The landlord's raised the rent;
Hee! Hee! We'll soon be in a tent.
Ha Ha! Haw Haw! Hee Hee
Our coal's to cost a fearful price.
Ha! Ha!
We'll pay a whole lot more for ice.
Haw! Haw!
And higher taxes—ain't that nice?
Hee! Hee!
Now don't say things will cost still more,
(We got the giggles once before)
We'd have hysterics—kick the floor—
Tee, hee! Har Har! WOW WOW!
—N. H. in the Brooklyn Eagle.

—o:—

—Chug-Chug! B-r! br-r! Honk!
Honk! Gilligillug-gilligillug!
The pedestrian paused at the intersection of two busy cross streets. He looked about. A motor-car was rushing at him from one direction, a motor-cycle from another, a steam truck was coming from behind, and a taxicab was speedily approaching.
Zip-zip! Zing-glug!
He looked up, and saw directly above him an air-ship in rapid descent.
There was but one chance. He was standing upon a manhole cover. Quickly seizing it, he lifted the lid and jumped into the hole just in time to be run over by an underground train.—London Tit-Bits.

—o:—

SPECIAL OCCASION

Boxcar Harry — "Beg pardon, ma'am, but do you happen to have some pie or cake that you could spare an unfortunate wanderer?"
Lady of the House—"No, I'm afraid not. Wouldn't some bread and butter do?"
Boxcar Harry—"As a general rule it would, ma'am; but, you see, this is my birthday."—Le Pèle Mêle (Paris).

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OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

(From our own correspondent)

Glasgow, March 27.

For some time the public have been anticipating an early all-around decrease in tailoring costs. The general impression has been, of course, that prices were coming down, but it would appear that any such impression has been based on much too optimistic a foundation. There will, of course, be comparatively cheap suits and overcoats in the market, but on the other hand prices will be higher in certain directions. During and after April, tailors are to be paid a penny an hour extra, and part-time workers are to be paid about 8 per cent. extra on present rates. In answer to the question — "How much will that mean on a suit of clothes?" I was informed by a city tailor that the increase would probably be one of from ten to fifteen shillings per suit, and about eight shillings on an overcoat. The tailor explained the reasons for the present high prices of cloth. "The Government put up wool for public auction, and we have got to bid against foreign buyers, who will pay almost any sum for the material. All the neutrals made money while we were at war, consequently they do mind raising prices against

us home buyers in the wool market. We tailors have been accused of profiteering, but we are not by any means to blame for the high rates. We have got to pay the soaring prices for cloth and labor. The trade estimate that the Government has cleared over sixty-millions out of wool, and that sum is being daily added to". "Do I think that the high prices will continue?" he said, "Well, that's rather a difficult question to answer. The majority of tailors in the city have supplies sufficient to last them for about eighteen months, and should there be a slump in wool, well" — he shrugged his shoulders, "the Bankruptcy Court would be busy. But I've got my own views on the matter. I think that public agitation will force the Government to step in and do something in the long run to reduce prices. I've got an idea that State will say to the manufacturer, Now, here's wool. Take half of it and manufacture it for the home trade at our fixed price, and the other fifty per cent, you may sell to foreign buyers at your own price. Something of that kind is bound to happen." It would be a fine thing if that belief should prove prophetic. Let us hope it may be.

Home Rule for Scotland

The text of the Government of Scotland Bill has now been issued. In an explanatory memorandum it is stated that the Bill represents a further instalment of the policy of devolution initiated by the Government of Ireland Act (1914). It provides for the establishment in Scotland of a single Chamber Parliament, subordinate to the Imperial Parliament and consisting of 145 members representing the existing constituencies and returned by the parliamentary electors, with the addition of peers. The representation of Scotland in the Common House of the Parliament of the United Kingdom will continue as at present until separate provision is made for devolution in England and Wales, then the representation of the component parts of Great Britain in the Parliament of the United Kingdom will fail to be reconsidered and re-adjusted. The powers of the Scots Parliament include all those conferred on the Irish Parliament in the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, except the control to vary customs and the excise, but with the addition of the administration of Old Age Pensions, National Insurance and Labor Exchanges. The executive power will continue vested in His Majesty the King, who will be represented in Scotland by a Lord High Commissioner. The administration will be carried on by the Lord High Commissioner advised by an executive of a Scottish Privy Council. The power

WHEN YOU ASK FOR SOMETHING WHICH IS ADMITTEDLY HIGH-CLASS AND YOU ARE OFFERED SOMETHING "JUST AS GOOD"—YOU DON'T BELIEVE IT—FEW DO—AND WE DON'T. OUR SPECIALISTS PREPARE CREATIONS IN ICE CREAM WHICH ARE WITHOUT EQUALS. IF YOU HAVE TRIED THEM YOU WILL UNDERSTAND. IF YOU HAVEN'T YOU CAN ASK AT THE FOUNTAIN TONIGHT OR TAKE A PINT PACKAGE OF "CITY DAIRY ORANGE" HOME.

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of varying Imperial taxes, excepting Customs and Excise, is conferred upon the Scots' Parliament, which will in addition have the exclusive power of levying the existing Imperial taxes on heritable property in Scotland. Provision is made for the payment by the Imperial Exchequer out of the proceeds of Scottish taxes of an annual sum defraying the cost of Scottish services. A Joint Exchequer Board is established to determine all questions arising under the financial provisions. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is substituted for the House of Lords as the final court of appeal, and all constitutional questions will be determined by that tribunal.

44-Hours Week.

Referring to the campaign to secure a 44-hours week, Mr. John Hill, general secretary of the Boilermakers' Society, suggests cutting a bit off the week, say Saturday. He admits that the adjustment of wages would not be so simple. Strenuous efforts are being made to secure support for the Draft Forty-four Hours Bill which was circulated by the Trades Union Congress. On May Day at the Labor Demonstrations, which are expected to take place all over the country, this question is to be among the subjects advocated. So far as the shipbuilding and engineering industries are concerned a joint committee of the employers and the Unions was set up some time ago to forty-four and other matters. The Unions have appointed their representatives, but they complain that the employers have not yet appointed the six from their side, and that the whole matter is thus held up.

For the purpose of organizing the workers in the grocery and provision trades (wholesale and retail) a meeting was held in Glasgow this week of the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks. Increased support was asked for the demands of a minimum scale of wages. In regard to an improvement of working conditions, a demand is to be made for a 44-hours week and a half-holiday on Saturdays in place of the present one in the mid-week. Under the new minimum scale of wages it is proposed that these should range from 29s for assistants of 16 years of age to £4 10s. at 25 years.

Delegates from Ayr, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Paisley, and Falkirk, attended a meeting in Glasgow this week of Scottish hairdressers. A scale of wages to be demanded for various classes of employees was approved—the minimum rate to be £4.

First in Scotland.

Renfrew has the honor of having led the way so far as housing is concerned, for it is the first Local Authority to have new houses ready for occupancy under the State-aided scheme. The scheme, which has already been described, comprises a total of 184 houses, which are to cost about £160,000, and ten houses are ready for occupancy. It is hoped to build something like 530 houses. The first instalment has not been accomplished without many difficulties, but as Provost Ferguson puts it, they had put a stout heart to a "stey brae."

James Gibson.

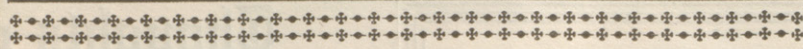
The Railroad Labor Board

(Editorial in Christian Science Monitor.)

An analysis of the conditions which have made the present strike of railroad employees in the United States possible might, perhaps, cause some doubt as to whether the appointment by President Wilson of the Railroad Labor Board, if made immediately after the enactment of the law authorizing the creation of such a board, would have prevented the interruption of transportation which Congress sought to render impossible.

There seems to be no good reason for discrediting the statement given out by officials of the railroad brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor, that the strike of railway employees is entirely unauthorized by the affiliated labor unions. There is, on the other hand, persistent reiteration of the declaration that the so-called "outlaw" strike is the result of agitation by members of recognized radical groups within and without the union labor organizations. The Department of Justice of the United States claims to have in its possession evidence that the effort to tie up transportation lines in all parts of the country is the initial step in a plan to induce a union-wide strike in practically all industries, the ultimate purpose being to enlist, by sympathy or by force, all workers in the movement for One Big Union.

The present strike, it is said, has little, if anything, to do with the wage question. There is no breach between the railroad companies and the men, it is asserted, and it is because of this fact that the instigators of the present strike are declared to be the enemies of the labor unions, as well as of the railroad companies and of the public. The question of wage scales has been under consideration for many months, and the understanding has been, apparently, that in the case the companies and the unions should fail to agree the adjustment of wages would eventually be made by the Railroad Labor Board. Indeed, it is pointed out, any agreement made by the railroad companies and the unions might eventually have been subject to review by the board. In the event of direct agreement, it is explained, action by the Interstate Commerce Commission would have been necessary to determine whether the new scale was consistent and efficient management of the railroad properties under the provisions of the law which guarantees a minimum dividend, and for the purpose of increasing freight and passenger rates to meet the additional demands on earnings.



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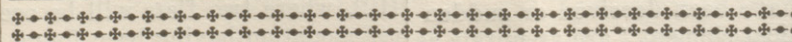
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The matters for decision by the Railroad Labor Board now are presented upon appeal by the brotherhoods and labor unions. The companies, it appears, have refused no demands of their employees regularly presented, and no demands have been made. There is no controversy between the recognized unions with which the railroads have been accustomed to negotiate and the railroads themselves appear to be confident that they will be awarded, by the new board, whatever may be found to be just, and this without any suspicion of the award being made be-

cause of duress or undue influence.

Whether or not this award will be accepted by the so-called outlaw strikers remains to be seen. Most of the men, it is believed, maintain their memberships in the brotherhoods and unions with which they have long been affiliated. They should, naturally, be bound by any award regularly made. The real test of the solidarity of union Labor, as at present organized, may come with the announcement of the decision in the matter about to be taken up. Men who strike without the approval of the unions and brotherhoods of which

ROBIN HOOD FLOUR

--is Different

they are members may possibly feel at liberty to refuse to accept an award which they may for any reason regard as inadequate.

Union Labor officials, both of the American Federation of Labor and of the railroad brotherhood not affiliated therewith, have long been cognizant of the efforts of those radical leaders, even within their own ranks, no "bore from within", which expression describes the process by which disintegration of the present organizations is attempted by the advocates of the One Big Union plan. Nearly all of these extremists have been leaders of the admittedly radical factions, the adherents of those declared or undeclared platforms demanding direct action and industrial revolution.

It is encouraging, however, to get the viewpoint of a man of such broad experience as that of Alfred H. Smith, president of the New York Central Railroad and formerly regional director of railroads. Mr. Smith in an address delivered in New York City a few days ago, declared that the "great majority of railroad employees are for the most part loyal, capable, fearless American citizens. We on the inside see this loyalty and steadfastness. The situation is not as bad as it may seem to you today." These loyal men referred to, then, are the ones who must be looked to ranks, to "bore from within" to be made. It is to be hoped that they do indeed constitute the great majority of workers affected, and that this majority will increase, rather than diminish.

HIGH AND LOW

Magistrate—"Did I understand you to say that the parties used high words?"

Police Witness—"Their voices were pitched rather high, sir, but the words used were extremely low."—**London Answers.**

ANCIENT ACCIDENTS

Prof.—"What happened to Babylon?"

Fresh—"It fell."

Prof.—"What happened to Tyre?"

Fresh—"It was punctured."—**The St. Cloud (Minn.) High School Moseot.**

The Canadian Railroader

WEEKLY

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Association of Canada

Organized Sept. 1916

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April, 1919.

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Those "Outlaw" Strikes

"OUTLAW" strikes are to be condemned for the sake of the solidarity of the trade union movement. There cannot be disorganized organized labor; that would be a contradiction in terms; and the "outlaw" strike is disorganized effort. The logical outcome of increase of "outlaw" strikes is the destruction of the trade union movement from within. That is serious enough for the workers, to begin with, but it goes much further. Disorganized workers with grievances becoming increasingly difficult of adjustment, the result of disorganization, lead to the upsetting of the whole social system, precipitating the worst horrors of revolution. Employers who accept unionism only as a necessary evil might well consider whether it is wisest to deal reasonably with disciplined unionism or to aid in producing by unreasonableness the "outlaw" strike, the end of which is the hanging of the employer to his own chandelier.

Efforts to show that those engaged in "outlaw" strikes are persons without principle or have been deceived or suddenly swept of their feet by the "radical element" are as unfair as they are futile. Often the "outlaw" strike is the result of the effort to live up to contracts, made in good faith, but which, on account of the increasing cost of living, have become intolerable in the passage of time. The strict letter of the law has become the rankest injustice to one of the parties to the contract; to hold men to contracts by which they contract to work for wages which may have become the wages of starvation is intolerable. Law must be tempered with mercy. The intent of law is justice; the argument of the "outlaw" striker is that when justice is balked by law, the law must go, and it is a pretty hard argument to answer.

So, while "outlaw" strikes are to be condemned because of the general dangers they involve, the condemnation does not end there, but should go on to the condemnation of the conditions giving rise to the strikes.

K. C.

Thoughts on Overalls

THE overall craze may have advantages apart from the saving in cost of ordinary spring suits. It is quite likely, for instance, to cause a lot of men who have never worn overalls to look like men who have always worn them. That is no particular honor to the regular wearers of overalls, and perhaps, indeed, the regular wearers would be justified in passing resolutions of protest against this new batch of incompetents usurping the badge of honest toil.

But there is this — overalls on novices might take some of the starch out of the novices, and who dare say that that would not be a real gain to the community? A man accustomed to be addressed as "Mister, please, sir" in his ordinary apparel might come to be addressed as "Hey, you, there" in overalls. It is conceivable that that alone would be quite an education for him. I would give a whole quarter for a photo of the expression of the editor of the Gazette, after writing one of those fine anti-labor editorials, sauntering out on St. Antoine street in his new overalls, and being hailed with "Hey, you, there" just as if he were a street cleaner or a plumber's helper.

For years I have worn overalls in free hours. They are nothing so common as the King George kind with the creases down the sides; they have creases all over them. The flight of time has greatly improved them. Only an archaeologist could discover the original color under the deposits of garden soil and powdered ashes, splashes of paint, whitewash, coal oil and roofing tar. It would be almost impossible to wash them, and they would not be the same even if they could be washed. They are a record of deeds done, and I would object to having all the glory laundered out of them.

Overalls are at least built for comfort and service, and that cannot be said for many popular articles of clothing. Between ourselves, I think that nifty suits, linen collars, stiff shirts and derby hats are barbarisms, and when I see a man all perked up in evening dress I have a fancy that all he needs to complete the picture is a ring through his nose and a rope of cowrie shells round his neck. As for a silk hat, I always feel tempted to have a shy at it with anything handy, just to show that medicine man stuff cuts no ice with me.

There is something to be said for the scarlet and gold and feathers of a Governor-General sitting on a gilt throne up at Ottawa. It is a pretty spectacle, anyway, and there is a human desire for pretty spectacle. Who is not thrilled when the Grenadiers or the Kilties go by in all their brave colors?

But it cannot be claimed for everyday clothes that they are pretty, though they may be a spectacle of a sort. So they are ruled out on counts of service, comfort and appearance, and overalls come in at least on counts of service and comfort.

K. C.

AFTER May 1st the offices of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association and the Canadian Railroader will be at 316 Lagauchetiere street, west, corner of Beaver Hall Hill, where two flats will be occupied, this greatly increased accommodation having been found necessary to meet the continuous development.

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Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From our own Correspondent)

THE session continues to be amazingly dull and there was scarcely a spark of life and excitement during the week. The Government whips complain that they can with difficulty induce any of their flock to rise to their feet, the Opposition do and say the stock things, and the independent progressive group seem hampered in their activities by the absence of Mr. Crerar. His illness has proved more serious than was imagined and he is not expected back in the House for at least two weeks.

Monday began with the answering of a lot of questions most of which were unimportant. Then, after Mr. Reid had brought down the bill to ratify the Grand Trunk agreement, which last session was declared to be unnecessary, Col. Currie initiated a discussion about some employees of the Grand Trunk railway who had lost their pension rights through participating in a strike, in 1910. The House in general showed sympathy with his plea for the reinstatement of them in their rights. Mr. Deslauriers then raised a discussion on the Board of Commerce which he wanted to replace by local Commissions, but nothing much materialized from the debate, Mr. Verville expressing a desire to hang profiteers. Some more non-contentious clauses of the Franchise Bill were allowed to go through.

On Tuesday, further progress was made with non-contentious clauses of the Franchise Bill, but when clause ten was reached, complete harmony ceased. It prohibited any company or association other than one incorporated solely for political

purposes from making contributions to political campaign funds. There is good ground for suspecting that this clause is designed to clip the wings of the farmers' and trades union associations, who would probably be called upon to finance candidates supporting their views. These farmer and labor bodies are not incorporated, and Mr. Levi Thomson suggested the addition of the word "or Organized" which would enable them to be outside the disabilities of the laws. It is very different thing for a rich corporation to hand over a fat cheque to a party organizer than for several hundred comparatively poor men to contribute a few dollars each to a collective fund for the purpose of promoting their political views. Mr. Thomson was of the opinion that the clause was not designed by the government to prevent the real evils of campaign funds, and he wanted a provision for the fullest publicity.

Mr. A. R. McMaster, of Brome, in an excellent speech, then moved an amendment, marred somewhat by its excessive length, which would forbid any incorporated or unincorporated company or firm contributing to campaign funds, put a limit of \$10,000 on any contribution which could be paid by or accepted from a single individual and ensure the fullest possibility for all such subscriptions.

Mr. Gould, of Assinaboia, approved of the amendment, which he thought must be the result of the Mr. Master's pilgrimage to the West last fall. He told gleefully of the angry hosts in the West, who were sick and tired of the present kind of Parliament, and narrated how more than \$6,000 had been raised for the campaign in Assinaboia in small subscriptions ranging from 50 cents upwards. The success of this and other similar canvasses for democratic campaign funds is one of the most promising symptoms of Canadian politics. The trouble in the past had been that the farmers and workers would not pay for or take an interest in political work. Other people paid for the political machinery and its operation and exacted their recompense in due course. If the electors of a constituency can now as they are in the West, be induced to back their political beliefs with their money and assist in paying for the election of a candidate who will properly represent their views, they will maintain a steady interest in politics and they will watch the course and career of their members with terrible vigilance.

The broadening of the basis of campaign funds cannot fail, to quicken interest in political and improve the calibre of parliament-



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any representatives. Perhaps it was knowledge of this fact that stirred the wrath of so many doughty Coalitionists. In succession a series of batteries were unmasked against the unfortunate Mr. Gould. Mr. John Best and Mr. Sexsmith, who see the U.F.O. plague racing through their old Tory strongholds, were almost besides themselves with rage at the thought of the Assina-

boia campaign fund. Mr. Best, who has a very primitive mind, was pained beyond measure and thought it was virtually a form of bribery, to solicit money to help candidates. Naturally once the money was given the votes would follow. Mr. Sexsmith agreed that it was "vicious corruption" and as a farmer said that he often bowed his head in shame at some of the political methods of the farmers' organizations. The animosity which old Tory members who are farmers themselves or have rural constituencies display towards the agrarian movement is infinitely amusing.

Then Mr. H. M. Mowat joined in the fray. If a belie^d, shared by no one else, that he is a brilliant wit and jester, are insignia of political capacity, then Mr. Mowat should long ago have been elevated to Cabinet rank. When one realizes that in days gone by Mr. Mowat was one of the leading stars in the firmament of Ontario Liberalism, it is easy to see why Conservatism perpetually triumphed at the polls. Mr. Mowat garrulous gabble is very trying and on this occasion he devoted himself to exposure what turned out to be a mare's nest in the shape of a letter to the Regina Leader signed "Disgusted Grain Grower", in which the Assinaboia campaign fund was analysed and criticized. His contemptuous merri-ment at the 50 cent subscriptions which is just as much to many struggling homesteaders as \$50 to Mr. Mowat revealed a strain of cheap snobbery which only the Parkdale division of Toronto would tolerate in its member.

Mr. Tweedie, of Calgary, is free from these personal defects; he is a likeable figure and reads and thinks, but the farmers' movement is to him as fearsome a plague as the sleeping sickness and he would like to have the whole country vaccinated against radicalism of any sort. He rose to denounce in sonorous tones the portent of Assinaboia and warn the house of the insidious perils which were creeping into our midst. Mr. Gould had explained how he was liable to recall if he failed in his duty and Mr. Tweedie's voice quavered with indignant emotion as he dwelt upon the woes certain to emanate from this degrading habit.

Dr. Edwards also made protest

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in less heroic strain. But it was distinctly amusing to see these dear innocents, every one of whom probably had been elected by an expenditure twice or thrice as heavy as Mr. Gould's, wailing over this democratically collected campaigning funds of \$6000 odd dollars. "Me thinks the lady doth protest too much" was the phrase which came to mind.

Mr. Halbert and Mr. Maharg replied from the progressive benches, and Mr. Guthrie explained that publication of campaign funds had been provided for in another clause. This clause was in the old bill and as it had been always gleefully disregarded, Mr. McMaster thought it insufficient but his amendment was beaten on a standing vote.

On Wednesday, Mr. George Parent brought up the question of the tragic Quebec riots of Easter week, 1918, and the compensation claims for losses by death, injury and looting. The Militia Department say Quebec City should pay, but the Quebec courts decree that the Federal Government is responsible. Mr. Doherty intimated that some relief might be considered. Then Mr. Burnham moved a resolution against campaign funds. He would prohibit them all and make recourse to them a criminal offence.

Mr. Burnham has a multitude of dislikes and antipathies, the Rev. Ben Spence, The Y.M.C.A., the farmers movement and a few others and he ladled out vitriolic denunciations of them all in turn. He has some original ideas and notions, but they are lost through the confusion of his mind and the incoherence of his delivery.

On Thursday, Mr. Rowell introduced a measure to provide \$12,500,000 for civil service bonuses and Mr. Donald Sutherland seized the occasion to make a violent attack upon the civil service. He wanted to see them dismissed by thousands and a little economy introduced. People, he said, broke their necks to get into the service and then spent their time agitating for considerations denied ordinary working people who had half a day's work done before the civil service started its day. There was a lengthy discussion and the vote was eventually passed after midnight.

Friday was practically all consumed in a discussion of the Grand Trunk Bill. The Opposition were exceedingly suspicious of the Government's bona fides and maintained a steady fire of criticism and inquiry in committee. Mr. Meighen is plainly tired of rescuing Dr. Reid from the quagmires and troubles into which his bucolic ignorance plunge him at regular intervals, and the Minister of Railways had to rely on occasional succour from Mr. Doherty's ripe wisdom.

Mr. Fielding wanted to confine the bill to ratifying any errors made in the Act of last session and to strike out the clause ratifying the corrected agreement. As far as Parliament made an omission about the two small railways, he would correct it, but if the Grand Trunk shareholders had made an error, they could correct it themselves. After some discussion, his amendment was lost without a division. There was a division during the debate on an appeal from a ruling of the Chair. Mr. E. W. Nesbitt was in the chair, and he ruled Mr. A. R. McMaster out of order for reading an extract from the Times report of the Grand Trunk shareholders' meeting in which some irate gentleman declared that our Dominion Government had no morals and quoted examples of parallel iniquities on the part of divers provincial administrations.

Mr. McMaster, quite properly it seemed to neutral observers, demanded a division on this ruling, but the dumb-driven cohorts of the Coalition backed up the chair.

Following up the question raised by Col. Currie, Mr. Mackenzie King submitted an amendment to the Grand Trunk Bill providing for a clause in the acquisition agreement which should stipulate that any pensions rights enjoyed by Grand Trunk men prior to 1910 should not be affected by the strike.

J. A. Stevenson.

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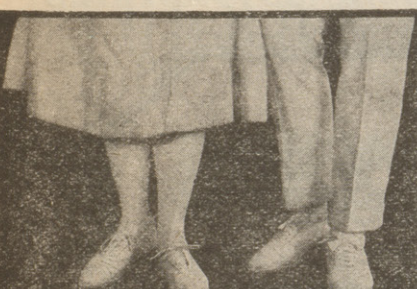
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OUR LONDON LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, March 26th.

Coincident with the advent of summer-like weather, we are having an outcrop of strikes and rumors of strikes. It would not be fair to attribute the disturbed industrial atmosphere entirely to the happy atmosphere of the climatic order, but we have often noticed in this country that there has been a human tendency towards a stoppage of work when the trees are bursting with bloom and the daffodils are in their beauty.

It is the miners and the railwaymen who are most likely to come out. The Brewery workers are also threatening.

The miners demand 45c. a shift

more for adults and 35c. for boys. The Government, which still retains control over, although it does not own, the mines, replies with an offer of 35c. and 12c. The miners prepare a ballot paper for or against a strike. The Premier invites them to another conference at the official residence, 10, Downing Street, and at the moment of writing, the game is going on. There is an alternative Government proposal in the field—to give the men 20 per cent increase on pre-war wages on piece rates, but this is probably not the last word.

At the moment of writing, the completion of the ballot by April 14th is contemplated. In that case, it would be near the end of April before any strike could begin, if all the usual formalities of notice were observed. Notice custom varies, in some coalfields none is given, in others the term is a week and in still others a fortnight. Therefore, apart from the possibility of break-away strikes, there will be over four weeks for reflection on both sides.

There is one matter in regard to which it is thought the Government owe an explanation to the public. The Coal Controller declined to go beyond 35c. a day on the flat rate basis. Nevertheless, the 20 per cent offer on standard rate earnings would, according to Frank Hodges, the Miners' Secretary, be equivalent in the aggregate to a flat rate increase of roughly 48c. a day for men and 24c. for boys.

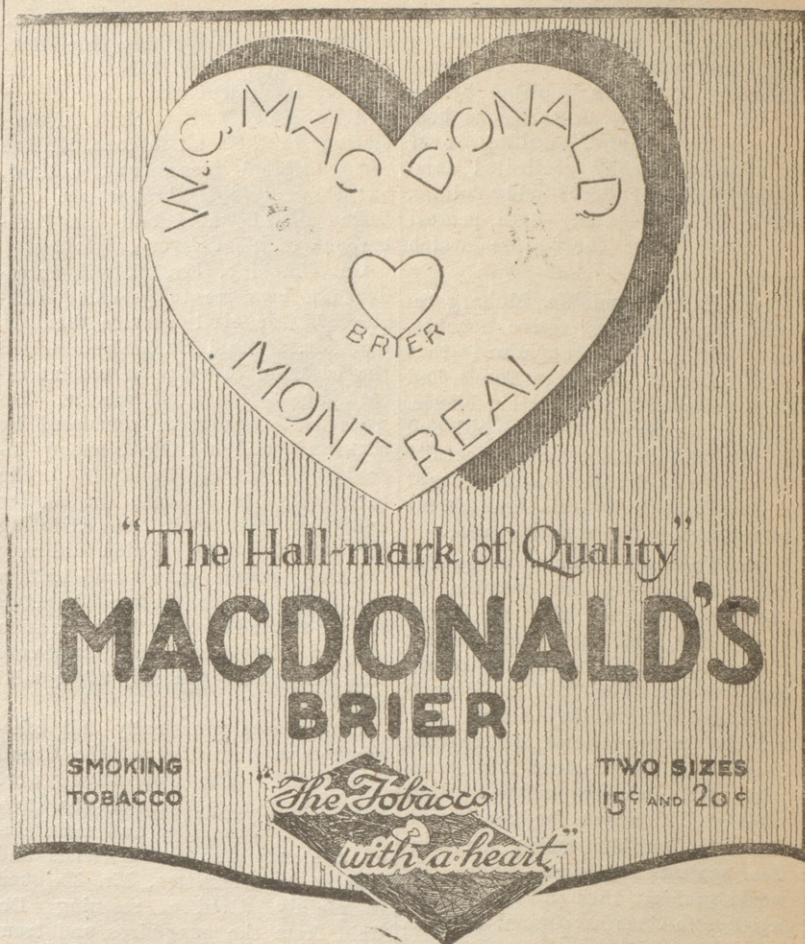
Why then should not a flat rate increase of 50c. and 25c. respectively be offered? The Federation is definitely hostile to the percentage method because it operates to the advantage of the highly-paid men. Their policy is to lessen rather than increase inequalities, but Hodges explains that the Government is opposed to the flat rate system. Two examples of the percentage increase may be given:

1. A hewer in a prolific seam earns on piece rates the exceptional wage of, say, \$40 a week. War wage \$4.50 and Sankey wage \$3 (money accruing from the last award) are deducted, leaving \$32.50 on which the 20 per cent is computed. This would give an increase of \$39 weekly.

A haulage man, or loader, or surfaceman on the minimum day wage earns, say, \$20. The deduction would be \$7.50 and the increase would be 20 per cent of \$12.50 or \$2.50 a week.

The inequality is so glaring that it would inevitably cause internal dissension.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain, as a national Federation, has no strike funds; but the score or so of district associations and federations which compose it have



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accumulated balances of varying amounts to the total, probably, of something over \$5,000,000. The Yorkshire association's funds must have been seriously depleted by the strike last August, and there may be no great eagerness there for a further stoppage. The South Wales Federation also has no great reserves, owing to the almost incessant drain of partial and sporadic disputes. Among some 800,000 miners a fund of \$5,000,000 will not go far. In any case, a strike is not

a picnic, in these days of depressed money values, on a few shilling a day. At the same time, the loyalty of the men to the union will not be easily shattered, and if the Federation calls a national strike, the strike will be national.

Late last night it was announced that the Government had increased their offer for the boys to 18c. per day, but were still insisting on the percentage basis. The delegate conference is still in session.

The possibility of a London Un-




COOKERY COLUMN

COCOA BISCUIT

2 cups flour
4 teaspoons baking powder
½ teaspoon salt
2 tablespoons flour
4 tablespoons Cowan Cocoa
3 tablespoons butter
2/3 cup milk

1. Mix and sift dry ingredients.
2. Rub in the butter with the tips of the fingers.
3. Add milk gradually, mixing to a soft dough.
4. Toss on floured board.
5. Roll lightly to one-half inch in thickness, cut into small biscuits.
6. Bake in a hot oven 12 to 15 minutes.



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derground railway strike and no traffic during the Easter holidays was announced in the House of Commons by Mr. J. H. Thomas, the National Union of Railwaymen General Secretary, when the London Electric Railway Company's Bill, dealing with fares, was mentioned.

Mr. Thomas said the Bill affected the interests of the men who had made a wages settlement which had not been paid, and the management said they could not pay and would not pay until this Bill was debated in Parliament. The men had decided that unless they received their wages next week there would be no traffic during the holidays.

There were outcries, of course, but the fact is that there is too much tardiness over these settlements. Once the strike danger is

over those whose business it is to work out the details have an easy knack of dropping off to sleep.

Already we have just had a strike of 2,000 men on one of our northern railways owing to non-payment of wages to a driver for a day on which he was suspended. The man's case is that he refused to do double duty and was suspended as punishment.

During the next few weeks, an important ballot will be taking place in the engineering trades.

The employers, having refused to consider any question of wage consolidation unless the engineering Unions would undertake to accept piecework, the Executive Committees of the nine Unions concerned have issued the employers' offer to their members, with a ballot paper enquiring whether or not they are willing that their executives should enter into negotiations with the employers on the question of payment by results. If the vote goes in favor of negotiation, a further ballot will be necessary on any joint recommendation arrived at. The four systems, each of which the employers wish to be allowed to introduce into any of their factories, if the workers in the factory agree, are these: (1) Straight individual piecework; (2) collective piecework; (3) individual bonus system; (4) collective bonus system. The guarantee that is offered is that present time rates shall be guaranteed, and that prices should be fixed at such a figure as will enable a man to earn, in addition to this time rate 33 1-3 per cent over existing rates (excluding in this case most of the war advances), i. e., if a man's present rate is \$20 per week, and his rate without bonus was \$12.50, he will be guaranteed \$44.25 or about 20 per cent on his present time rate. The 33 1-3 is, therefore, less generous than it sounds. The statement of the Executives simply presents the offer and gives no lead, but Tom Mann, the union secretary, on his own responsibility, has published a pamphlet urging the engineers to insist that, before payment by results is accepted, the employers should merge also bonuses into basic rates, and accept responsibilities for unemployment.

Ethelbert Pogson.

—:0:—

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Distinguished Recruits for the British Labor Party

(By J. A. STEVENSON.)

ANYONE who imagines that the British Labor party whose astonishing progress in electoral favor, bring its advent to office after the next general election within the range of possibilities, is a purely working class organization makes a profound error. Its ranks are open to all who labor by hand and brain and there has been a steady drift to it of a large element of the salaried and intellectual classes. Its ranks include several peers, various generals and admirals, a numerous band of college professors and a large element of university undergraduates. Scarcely a day passes but some well-known figure announces his adhesion to the Labor platform. But it has recently received some very distinguished recruits and the reason their enlistment with us are even more noteworthy than the actual fact of joining. Professor Frederick Soddy, Lee's Professor of Inorganic and Physical Chemistry in the University of Oxford is one of the leading scientists in England and his reputation is now world-wide. His researches have been responsible for one of the most revolutionary scientific discoveries of recent years and his appointment at the age of forty to this most important chair is sufficient testimony of his prestige. He

has just written a book called "Science and Life" in which he discusses the social and economic possibilities of the latest scientific discoveries. In a lecture to the Independent Labor party in Aberdeen he predicted recently that the potential energy latent everywhere in nature will in the course of time be used increasingly more to replace the animate energy of man. Primitive man often froze to death on the site of vast coal deposits of which he was unaware and today a large proportion of humanity leads a cramped and narrow existence which for a general standard of life far beyond our wildest dreams surrounds us everywhere, though still out of reach. "Could the energy" he said "steadily diffused in the transmutation of radio active elements be harnessed by man, we will see a transformation of the standards of life incomparably beyond that brought about by the harnessing of electricity. Control by man of the atomic energy thrown off by the radio-active elements — in a manner similar to the way ordinary processes such as the combustion of coal are now controlled is the vital step which science has yet to take."

Professor Soddy then proceeded to explain that the process of radio-

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activity which has been going on in certain elements since the beginnings of the universe steadily releases a reserve of energy incomparably greater than any yet utilized. The parent element throws off atomic particles and slowly alters in its nature in accordance with definite laws in whose discovery Professor Soddy has played a notable part. If the expulsion of these particles could by some means be controlled, it would be possible to convert at will lead mercury or other elements into gold or other precious metals. But this would be a petty achievement though if carried out on an extensive scale it would speedily destroy the intrinsic value of gold.

Professor Soddy thinks that judging by the progress already achieved, the next decade may well see scientific advances which could if properly directed pave the way for the golden age of mankind. "Already" he says "science though the medium of atomic energy has laid its hands upon a tool which if controlled by man could eliminate for ever the nightmare of existing prolonged only from day to day by unrelenting toil." Then he gives his reason for joining the Labor party thus, "The uses already made of science show how necessary it is that a new social order be developed ere a million times more awful powers are unleashed by man. So far the pearls of science have been cast before those who have given us in return the desolation of scientific warfare and the almost equal desolation of unscientific government. In the world that is to come the control of lawyers, financiers, politicians and the merely possessive or acquisitive must give place to a system in which the creative elements must rule.

Then Admiral Lord Fisher, the most distinguished sailor whom Great Britain has produced since Nelson has given his adherence to the Labor party and declared that the best hope of Britain's regeneration towards prosperity and a better civilization lies in its programme of reform. But Lord Fisher is approaching his eightieth year and while his opinions will always command respect, he is no longer an active force. The two volumes of Memoirs which he recently published are a most illuminating exposure of the muddleheadedness and obstinate conservatism which have been throttling the government departments of Britain for many a day and against which Lord Fisher himself fought continuous battles for fifty years. They reveal him always to have been a radical and democrat

and also that while he was in high official position at the Admiralty at the beginning of the century he was a strong pro-Boer. But the views of the younger generation are of more real import and it is more than ordinarily interesting to find one of the most distinguished of the younger generals of the regular army joining the Labor party. Brigadier-General C. B. Thompson who possesses numerous decorations joined the regular army as a lieutenant in 1894 and fought both in the Matabele campaign and the South African War. He passed through the Staff College with distinction and went to France in August 1914 as a member of the staff of Lord Haig who then commanded the First Division. After seeing considerable service there he was sent on a military mission to Roumania and had an opportunity of visiting Russia before the Revolution broke out and subsequently. Later on he commanded a brigade in the Palestine campaign; and enhanced his military reputation. General Smuts took with him on mission to Vienna and on his return he was selected as British representative on the Supreme Military Council of the Allies, one of the most responsible posts in the Army. His insight into proceedings at Paris and his experiences in Austria and Hungary led him to the belief that the statesmen who controlled the destinies of Europe and the peace settlement had made a most disastrous mess of their task and that until the problem was tackled by fresh governments and less jaundiced minds, the continent would welter in misery and desolation. In Britain the Labor party seemed to offer the only hope of an alternative to the Lloyd-Georgian Government, so he decided to throw in his lot with it. He is now acting as correspondent for the Herald, the daily organ of the Labor party and is standing as Labor candidate for a division of Bristol. His example, it should be said is being followed by numerous other young officers whose eyes the war has opened and among recently announced Labor candidates are two colonels each holding the D. S. O. What has been the great salvation of British political life and has averted the class conflicts so prevalent in other countries is the fact that people of rank, wealth and education have always been ready to throw themselves in considerable numbers on the side of the cause of reform. In fact from them have often — the most energetic and wholehearted progress-ives in the country.

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A Close Look at the Convention Which Rejected Direct Action

(By Ethelbert Pogson, correspondent of the Railroader.)

London,

We in this country have just escaped a general strike. That sounds at first like an alarming statement, and so explanations are due. We escaped it by a vote of nearly 3,000,000 cast at a trade union Congress on the nationalization of mines. Labor will now continue political propaganda in connection with the question and the miners will ask for increased money.

The "crisis" has, perhaps naturally, caused no little excitement among the general public and created a flutter of interest in trade union circles. But those of us who have some measure of behind-the-scenes knowledge have never had cause for uneasiness. We knew our unions.

When the government refused to accept the majority report of the Sankey Commission and nationalize the miners felt, and exhibited, natural anger. They held that, having appointed the Commission, the Government should be prepared to stand by its report. The Congresses which have been passed, I have dealt with in this column from time to time. What is of present interest is that the miners announced this week a vote taken in the coalfields as to whether they should recommend all workers to down tools to get the mines nationalized. As it was their own special conception and desire, one was not at all surprised to find

the vote overwhelmingly in favor of strike.

Accordingly, when the miners attended yesterday's congress of all organized Labor and advocated direct action it was quite according to plan and occasioned no surprise. Frank Hodges, the miners' secretary, put their position with admirable clearness. He declared that, by refusing to accept the findings of their own Commission, the Government had been guilty of a gigantic fraud and the miners had no longer any faith in the Parliamentary institution as it exists today.

If the Labor Party won three by-elections a year it would take them 15-2 years before they got 100 members in Parliament, and the capitalist block should still have a majority of 500. Where they prepared to wait for an indefinite number of years and be satisfied with political action?

If they could accomplish their ends by his suggestion there was no reason why they should not attempt it. If there was to be no great movement for the nationalization of the mines, where were they going to put the miners?

Were they going to thrust them back into the vortex where they had been swimming — "wages, wages, wages" in an impossible endeavor to catch up with prices, instead of attacking the fundamental problem — the relation of capital to production.

But the speech was being heard by men who have thrashed the question out in their own organizations in the several industrial sections of the country. Many of them had wages movements of their own in preparation or progress. So that while the speech of Hodges was accorded the applause its cleverness deserved, there was as yet no indications that this meant practical support.

Indeed, there had been already one evidence of determined opposition.

The railwaymen's secretary, J. H. Thomas, was the chairman and he carried with him a voting strength of 600,000. He was dead against the strike. Then followed Tom Shaw, who represents the textile workers and he poured ridicule on the idea. He declared that if they called a strike they could not make it successful, because it would never give them nationalization, but only put the Labor movement back 20 years.

After him came J.R. Clynes, president of the unskilled workers, whose vote is about 1,500,000 strong. When he had spoken against, the whole thing was practically settled.

Clynes said he opposed the policy of direct action, not because it might fail or for the ill-consequences that would follow, but because, in the main, direct action was wrong.

"The man who would most welcome direct action" he declared, "is not at this conference. He is at this moment sitting in Downing Street, at the head of the Government."

"The Prime Minister is at present embarrassed, and he would welcome direct action on our part because it would strengthen his position enormously."

Whatever else he may lack, the Prime Minister does not lack in political strategy. You declare a general strike and he declares a General Election, under conditions with our own class rent in twain and every other class determined to resist this aggressive step on the part of Labor. Who would gain?"

Clynes twitted the apathetic workers by saying "There are plenty of people who would travel to London to see a football match but who wouldn't travel to the ballot box to vote for Labor."

Finally the voting for political action was 3,732,000 and 1,015,000 against.

This is a pretty big thing for British Labor, because it tests once and for all the real strength of the direct action element. It has now been definitely revealed that, with Labor's chances at the polls growing rosier, the workers are not going to imperil them by precipitate action.

A vote of this kind made look all the more foolish a so-called rank-and-file convention held at the same time in the same building. There were about 90 people present, and they had assembled to tell the leaders of Labor of their sins of omission and commission and instruct them as to their future conduct.

I took the trouble to probe into the real value of their representation. I found that while a few unions

had sent delegates from a number of the more advanced branches, other of the speakers who came from insignificant and obscure "workers' committees", "anarchist groups", "communist league" and organizations that cut no ice with us and only exist for the purpose of hearing themselves talk.

Even then they couldn't agree among themselves. One would start out to demand a strike to secure nationalization of mines. Another would promptly announce that this was no use at all — that what was needed was Socialization of mines. A third would rise suddenly and angrily to declare that only Sovietization was any remedy. And so they went on. It was an eternal jangle and the only excuse was the extreme youth of the janglers. Many of them were not long out of their 'teens.

I know we are looked upon by some other parts of the world as unprogressive in this old country, but Labor has learned the lesson here of the advisability to make haste slowly and revolutionaries are not going to put British Labor out of its stride yet a while.

WHERE STYLES DON'T CHANGE

The bustle is coming into fashion again, says a ladies' journal. But not in government offices. — London Punch.



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The Salvation Army's Care for the Strangers

(By Grace Weaver.)

THE extent to which the social and rescue work of the Salvation Army is concerned with the people who live in the country far from the great cities, was emphasized by Lieut.-Colonel W. Bettridge, who is in charge of the Army headquarters in Montreal. The question had arisen as to why the country districts should be asked to contribute to this work in the forthcoming Jubilee Self-Denial Week.

"Beginning with the women and girls," he said, "you are aware, of course, that commercialized vice is recruited from the country, and that it is the girl living by herself in the city who most frequently falls a victim to this life. Or if she does not enter the life exactly, she is in danger of one lapse and confronted with the responsibility of the unmarried mother. A visit to our rescue homes or to our maternity homes would reveal to you what is done in this direction, though we are very careful as to publicity in such work and do not encourage anything that would make a girl hesitate to come to us. On the other side, there are the young men and youths who come up to the city fall into bad company and bad habits. Many of these come to our shelters and we are enabled to put them on their feet again, and in this phase of effort, I think the Salvation Army succeeds because its men and women workers understand the personal touch and appeal. In such cases that is essentially the thing needed.

"In this rescue work, we come up against many enquiries for lost and missing friends and relatives. Every year, through a special department established for this purpose, we restore to thousands of families a missing or errant son or daughter, and, in other cases, a husband or wife. We go further, and save many people from seeking a suicide's death. An occasional line in the newspapers that anyone who is contemplating suicide is requested to communicate with us brings more responses than some people might imagine.

"Yes, the city population is kept up to physical standard by the introduction of fresh vital blood from the country every year," added the Colonel; "but there is a certain leakage in the process, and it is our province to help these young men and women who are constantly arriving, many of whom when given a helping hand in the first lapse, ultimately become good citizens. Our assistance is not confined to giving shelter and advice; but we aim at giving practical training to girls so that they can

re-enter the world with a proper and remunerative vocation.

"Moreover, it is not only the country girls in this land that we are anxious about," said Col. Bettridge: "for there are large numbers who are coming—now that immigration is starting again in its normal way—from the old country, women and girls from all parts of the British Isles. These women, many of them unaccustomed to urban life, face the double danger of being in a strange land far away from their families, as well as coming into city life. Our emigration work is, however, undertaken on so vast a scale under Commissioner Lamb, that it is a story all in itself."

HAS TO TALK

"They say money talks."

"Well?"

"I wonder how that idea originated?"

"Have you never noticed the lady on the dollar?"—*Louisville Courier-Journal.*

Labor Brevities

Finding unity impossible, the Board of Conciliation appointed to inquire into the wages and working conditions of Grand Trunk clerks and station hands will submit the situation to the Minister of Labor.

* * *

\$75,000 will be distributed amongst the small salaried clerks at Montreal City Hall, in the form of wage increases.

* * *

London and Port Stanley Railway's dispute with its employees will be investigated by a Conciliation Board.

* * *

Montreal Tramways employees demand an eight hour day and approximately 100 per cent increase in wages, giving motormen and conductors 70 to 75 cents an hour, inspectors \$215 to \$225 a month, freight inspectors \$250 a month, depot clerks the same and the janitor of depots \$150 a month.

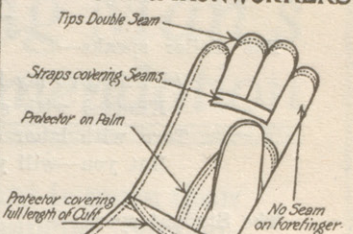
* * *

Montreal firemen will wear grey overalls when in the stations, 866 pairs having been ordered by the City Commissioners.

* * *

Winnipeg Street Railway employees threaten "drastic action" to force the company to consider

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their demands which include increases totalling a million and a quarter a year.

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Amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act to be introduced this session increase from 55 to 75 per cent of the husband's earnings the maximum to be paid. Allowance to widows will be increased from \$20 to \$40 a month, and for children from \$5 and \$7.50 to \$10 a month. Burial expenses allowed will be increased from \$75 to \$125, and a lump sum of \$100 will be payable to widows at the time of the husband's death.

* * *

Employees of the Canada Sugar Company and the St. Lawrence Sugar Refinery have applied for an increase of 29 cents an hour and an eight hour day. An offer of six cents an hour by the companies was rejected. Nearly 1299 men are affected.

* * *

Montreal painters have agreed to accept the employers' offer of 65 cents an hour and a 59 hour week.

* * *

Employees of wholesale provision houses are dissatisfied with the offer made them of an increase of \$3 a week and a 50 hour week, and may strike. Egg candler, who conduct their work in a dark room in the day time, and are paid \$20 to \$22 a week, seek \$25, and say they will leave the public who eat the eggs to judge of the reasonableness of their demands.

* * *

Contractors' wiremen in Sydney, N. S., formed a branch of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

* * *

Work for 599 men will be provided by the erection of the Canadian factory of the Commerce Motor Car Co. Ltd., of Detroit, which will be built at Guelph.

* * *

BUT SOMETIMES WORDS FAIL.

"What do you call a man who plays a saxophone?"

"It depends on how rotten he is."—*The Yale Record.*

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THE CHALLENGE

By Paul Lyman Benjamin.

The Toiler speaks—

"I will give my hands—my hands
Knotted with strain and toil,
Torn with labor of all the lands,
But you—will you give your spoil?"

The Student speaks—

"I will give my brain and my soul,
I will not wince at pain;
I will pay to the full the toll,
And you—will you give your gain?"

The Clerk speaks—

"I will give my life—my breath,
Oh, God, I have no more;
I will laugh at a grisly death,
But you—will you give your store?"

The Poet speaks—

"I will give my dreams and my song,
I will write with the sword;
I will challenge kings for these wrongs,
And you—will you give your hoard?"

The Young Man speaks—

"I will give my youth—this youth,
The glad, full flush of health;
I will kindle the torch of truth;
But you—will you give your wealth?"

The Mother speaks—

"I will give my sons—these sons,
All—all that I hold;
I will give my flesh for the guns,
And you—will you give your gold?"

Little by little the seed we sow
Into a beautiful field will grow.
Little by little the world goes strong,
Fighting the battle of Right and Wrong;
Little by little the Wrong gives way—
Little by little the Right has sway.

DISCOVERED-MAYOR OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Meetings of Labor Organizations
Banned by Proclamation Issued in
Hazard, Kentucky.

King Canute commanding the waters to be still has nothing on the Mayor of Hazard, Kentucky.

This latter gent, opening his eyes one day and looking around him, be-thought himself that the workers are getting too independent. Whereas, in the days of old only knights who were bold and nobles and kings had nothing to say about the weather and the price of eggs and conditions generally, nowadays it appears that even the common workers are getting together and actually talking of organizing so as to deal collectively with the bosses in an effort to improve their standards of living.

Such rank impudence must be curbed, and at once. Before you know it the workers may even de-

cide to go into politics for themselves. Horrors! Wherefore Hizzoner takes his typewriter and paper and issues a proclamation forbidding free speech on matters pertaining to labor organizations. Behold!

Proclamation Against Free Speech.

Whereas it has come to the attention of the Mayor of the City of Hazard that there exists a necessity for proclamation to prevent public gathering for the purpose of public speaking, organizing, agitating, or to discuss matters pertaining to labor organization for or against:

Now, therefore, by the power vested in me, I hereby declare public speaking, organizing, agitating or discussions of matters pertaining to labor organizations for or against, to be a menace to the public and any one violating this proclamation will be dealt with according to law. This proclamation extends to the full bounds of the City of Hazard.

Mayor, City of Hazard.

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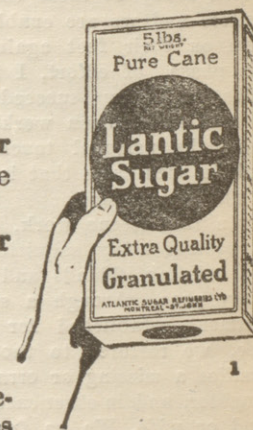
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Clergy and Social Work

(Contributed.)

It was a pity that the clergy-men who attended the Anglican Synod held last week in Montreal did not hear an address which was delivered by Warwick Chipman, to a gathering of laity, who were also in attendance at its sessions, for he gave some advice which would have stood them in good stead in one of their debates. Mr. Chipman argued that it was not the province of the Church to undertake social work but to educate the community up to the point where the work would be initiated as the result of the teachings of the Church. The speaker instanced hospitals as institutions which had originally been conducted by the Church, but which had been taken over by the community at large, and he might also have mentioned schools.

Later in the week in the Synod, it was proposed that a survey of facilities for children's recreation and amusement in Montreal should be made, and the proposer put forward the suggestion that the recently formed Montreal Council of Social Agencies, which had appointed a committee for research and survey, might be asked to co-operate in this effort. It was evident that very few of those present knew anything about the new federation of social agencies; but some of the clergy thought they knew that it was an institution which did not name Jesus Christ, and on that account they recommended that the Synod Social Service work should not enlist its co-operation. Yet this Montreal Council of Social Agencies embodied an example of what Mr. Warwick Chipman had spoken of, namely, an agency which represented the fruits of Christian teachings and sentiment throughout the ages, and which had undertaken to perform work that originally was within the direct province of the Church.

For the benefit of those clergy who had very vague ideas about the new federation, it may be explained that it had upon its council representatives of practically all the leading Protestant or non-Catholic institutions and societies which are ministering in Montreal to the sick, the poor, the halt, the unfortunate, the delinquent. The council, as such, may not mention the name of the Founder of Christianity, but its individual members mostly are members of churches, and quite a large proportion of them are members of the Anglican Church. The underlying conception of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies is that it is better for all interested in ameliorating conditions in the community to get together, so that if, for instance, the question of housing should come up, the Charity Organization, the hospital

boards, the University Settlements, the orphanages, the educational bodies,—all of which are affected in some way by the problem of the home—shall be able to make one big push for the furthering of any scheme that may be brought up. Individual representatives on the council no doubt have their private faith, but it is not necessary when discussing a housing scheme or a tuberculosis hospital, to introduce the question of faith, for there may be a Jew on the council, or a theosophist, whose aid in such schemes will be helpful.

If the Church is going to ask outsider organizations to undertake social work which it points out as necessary to fulfil the law of Christ, it must not lay down shibboleths that will ostracise all who cannot pronounce the password.

Caedmon.

—:0:—

HOPEFUL SIGN

Husband. — "You'll never get that new dog of yours to mind you."

Wife. — "Oh, yes, I will. — You were just as troublesome yourself at first."—*London Opinion.*

—:0:—

TWO WRONGS, ONE RIGHT

"An optimist is a man who cherishes vain hopes, and a pessimist a man who nurses vain regrets."

"And what is a man who does both?"

"Oh, he's just a plain ordinary human."—*Boston Transcript.*

—:0:—

SOON OUT OF SIGHT

"So you think you are becoming near-sighted, do you?" said the optician.

"Yes, I do," replied the tired business man.

"What makes you think so?"

"Because I can't see a dollar go near as far as I used to."—*Yonkers Statesman.*

—:0:—

EXPLAINED

"Waiter, why do you bring me this same potato day after day?"

"Well, sir, you never eat it."—*World (London).*

—:0:—

HOUSE MISSING

The difficulty of finding a house is not exclusively an eastern problem. Out in Kansas, for instance, a native observed a stranger looking around and ventured to say, "Good morning, sir, House hunting?"

"Yes," replied the stranger. "I wonder if it could have blown this far."—*Boston Transcript.*

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It gives to the consumer
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THE T. EATON CO. LIMITED
TORONTO CANADA

Overalls in Fashion

(By ROY CARMICHAEL)

The overall "craze" may or may not be a craze, but it has arrived and must be taken note of. With our usual conservatism we in Montreal are a day or two behind other cities in making radical departures which may only have novelty to commend them, but it only needs the endorsement of the commercial capital to stamp any movement with the hallmark. Up to now, though City Hall employees are asking for them, the business community still looks askance at the new movement. Not so the retail trade in men's wear, however. It may be a surprise to Montrealers to know just how enterprising our merchants are, and how shrewdly they take time by the forelock. Conversation with a large manufacturer of overalls reveals the fact that several men's wear establishments, which have never before handled overalls, have placed large orders for them, being fully convinced that the campaign will strike Montreal with full force in a few days.

"Some of these merchants are going to feature overalls in their advertising to test the feeling of the public," said the manufacturer, "and if there is the response they anticipate we shall have renewal orders. In that case I don't know what we shall do, for already the demand is greater than the supply. The material is scarce, and the price is high—three times what it was before the war. I have no doubt prices will go still higher and that some novelties in overall wear will be produced for the finicky. My guess is that we shall have fashions in overalls, and that before the movement has ended it will be possible to tell the (classy dresser) from the kind of overalls he wears, and the stylish way he wears 'em."

Retail stores report many enquiries of a timid and tentative nature, but few purchases are yet beyond the normal. Some of the higher class houses have not placed orders, yet, preferring to wait and see what form the movement takes, and whether manufacturers will cater specially to the business man by designing an overall which will differentiate him from the man whose work compels him to wear overalls to protect his garments from stain. No doubt there will be varieties of snobbery amongst the overalls wearers, for overalls will not change the character, but the main question is whether a sufficient number will wear them, and continue wearing them until the price of clothing drops, which is the object of the movement, or whether this will be just a passing fancy which will add to a man's expenditure the cost of including overalls in the fashionable wardrobe.

That the movement will be scotched by ridicule, is the hope of some clothing manufacturers, and one who

has the advantage of possessing a retail store took the initial step in that direction on Wednesday by dressing his entire sales staff in overalls, announcing that he did so "for the delight of the public" who gathered in large numbers around his windows and certainly exhibited amusement at the appearance of the clerks in their unaccustomed costume. This firm is charging seven dollars for overalls creased at the side like King George's and advertises that it is stocking them "for those who want to squander their money." For some people "it recommends a light coat made in England."

Last minute news is to the effect that Premier Drury and sixteen members of the Ontario Legislature have pledged themselves to wear overalls during the session. But then the Ontario Parliament being farmers are used to wearing overalls.

WHAT COUNTS

"The amount of money a fellow's father has doesn't seem to cut much figure here."

"No, it's the amount of the father's money the son has."—*Yale Record*.

PROBABLY

Bix—"Who was it said that the unexpected always happens?"

Dix—"I don't know. Wasn't it somebody connected with the Weather Bureau?"—*Boston Transcript*.

QUITE SIMPLE

We hear that a Leicestershire hen has adopted a litter of pigs. A possible explanation of this is the natural intimacy between ham and eegs.—*London Blighty*.

HOPELESS ADDICT

"Have you never thought of retiring from politics?"

"Yes," replied Senator Sorghum; "but always with shudder."—*Washington Star*.

THREATENED CONFLAGRATION

He—"Reggie's girl has money to burn."

She—"Yes, I hear she's looking for a match."—*The Princeton Tiger*.

SAVE OUR FORESTS

"How's this, waiter? You've charged me two dollars and a half for planked steak!"

"Sorry sir, but lumber's gone up again."—*The Home Sector*.

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ACIDS AND HEAVY CHEMICALS

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MONTREAL

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CANADIAN LABOR under
FAIR CONDITIONS AND
SOLD AT A FAIR PRICE.

—Always, Everywhere, in Canada,
Ask for EDDY'S Matches

—"Why do you say he is financially embarrassed?"

"He's so shy in his payments."—*Cornell Widow*.

The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada

Its Only Aim Is The Welfare of The Masses.

The people of a nation cannot advance beyond the men who make its laws, and the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada exists to see to it that the workers by hand and brain are directly represented in the law-making bodies of the Dominion; to find, train and elect the right men of our own class in order to secure the kind of legislation that will protect and advance the interests of the workers.

It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES:—

To support all municipal, provincial and federal educational plans where the evident purpose is to raise the standard of education in enlightened and progressive ways; to present truthfully and fearlessly through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the "Canadian Railroader", the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments;

To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person, one vote; the transfer of taxes from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial, political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen's housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker, according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen's Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 60 Dandurand Building, Montreal, Que. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

The funds accumulating in the Dominion Headquarters are used for political and educational propaganda; the development of the organization; the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and the financing of the various political campaigns where favorable opportunities develop, to elect our candidates. The treasurer is under bond and the books are audited by a firm of accountants.

An application blank will be found below. Merely fill out the application blank, buy a postal order for \$2 and send it to Dominion Headquarters. Your membership card will be forwarded by return mail. Join this great organization in the interests of education and clean politics. Today is the day and this is the hour. Become a member now.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To the Secretary,
The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada,
General Headquarters, 60 Dandurand Building,
MONTREAL, QUE.

I hereby make application for membership in "The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada." I subscribe and agree to pay, while a member, the yearly fee of \$2.00 in advance.

Name.....

Amount paid \$..... Address.....

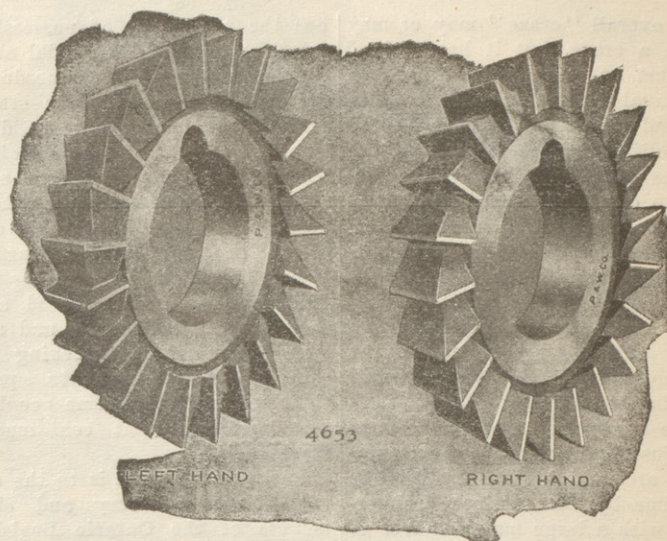
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Make all cheques and money orders payable to "The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada."

Official membership card will be mailed from headquarters, with copy of platform, constitution and general rules.

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Labor Rising as an Important Political Factor

(Dearborn Independent.)

On five continents today the political watchword is Labor. That doesn't mean Labor is ready to grasp the government of five continents; it doesn't mean that Labor expects to grasp the government of five continents, or even of one continent.

It does mean that for the first time in history Labor is everywhere a prime political factor. Not a general election held anywhere in the world during the year just passed but weighed Labor gravely; not a political crisis this year, not a campaign from the Presidential campaign in the United States of America to the campaign in the Argentine Republic, from the Dominion Parliament to the Finnish Council, but is scrutinizing it.

There is nothing to suspect in Labor. Labor is not a revolution. Labor is not even radical. Labor is a logical development of the idea of self-interest and advancement, by which a very large division of human beings has become cohesive and coherent. It represents a distinct idea; but the idea it represents is one well within the limits of constitutional government.

The way Labor looks at it everywhere is this: Labor wants to see put into action a very advanced programme of social reform, designed to make life safer for the wage-earner, to guarantee a certain independence in his declining years, and to wipe out forever the bogey of the poorhouse. Labor would like to do this; if Labor can win a majority of the citizens of any country to its way of thinking, Labor will try these interesting experiments; if this majority does not approve, Labor will preach and talk and demonstrate until the majority changes its mind.

In France Labor has driven home its idea to the professions. In Britain the hand and brain movement is linking the clerk class with the labor class—their objects are held in common. So it goes the world over. What has happened is that the Liberals who ten years ago were the Left—the Radicals—the Innovators, have become almost the Right, not because they have become conservative and moved over, but because on their left new groups have appeared, stretching away through the degrees of conservative Labor, moderate Socialism, Radicals, Direct Actionists.

If it had not been for the war, and for the peculiar character of Lloyd George's leadership, the Conservatives would not have had any power again. As a party they remained, but not as the old traditional Tories of England; they be-

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MONTREAL

came a historic minority, like the Monarchists of France and the fragmentary Conservatives of Spain.

Liberalism became the centre of the stage, and what was happening in Britain under the names Conservative, Liberal and Labor was happening everywhere else under different but corresponding titles.

There came the time when Liberalism was hard put to it to fight off with the one hand the Conservatives, and with the other the Socialists. The result, everywhere, was the coalition. It happened in the United States as elsewhere, for while the Cabinet remained a party Cabinet, the actual corps of executives who carried forward the war-activities of the nation was drawn from every rank and class, and was the most tremendous and significant coalition, and the truest and most sincere one ever known.

The war ended, and the Coali-

tion's reason for existence was ended, too. The war itself had served the dual purpose of weakening the life-flow of Conservatism, and strengthening the more liberal movements; in some countries where the tension had been strong, or where progress has been automatically checked and a natural growth impeded as in Russia, the reaction was overwhelming, and produced revolution. In other words liberalism, held in a strait-jacket to prevent its expansion, swelled until it burst the jacket and, so released, expanded with such lack of control, such tremendous growth, that it overstepped the limits of Liberalism and didn't stop until it reached almost the bursting point of Communism.

So the Peace found a doomed nation through the weakness Liberals to its resurrected usefulness through a Coalition; and in Britain it found a leader to whom such a Coalition,

including Conservatives, was a necessity. But it found also a Conservatism unable to stand any longer without a Coalition, while it found Liberal and Labor not yet ready to overthrow Coalition, but unwilling to compromise with it. The Conservatives cling to Coalition through weakness; Liberals and Laborites defy it through a sense of inherent strength.

Liberal and Labor are the two significant parties of the coming era in politics; Conservatism drops back to the useful minority position held in turn by Liberal and Labor and Irish Nationalism. Its power is done, but not its usefulness. It will always be a factor, occasionally and for the moment a determining factor—as often happens with minorities; but it will not be a permanent controlling factor as in the past.

The effort in Britain now is to shape a third party which shall stand where Liberalism stood before; the difficulty is that the proponents of the plan differ on the exact position to be occupied. The Tories, anxious to preserve the semblance of power, naturally favor a Centre party which shall stand between Liberal and Labor on the one hand, and the people on the other.

But the Liberal supporters of the proposal have a different idea; they want to stand midway between the Liberals and the Laborites; they seek to force the Liberal party, as identified with Mr. Asquith, into the position formerly occupied by the Conservatives on the right, and so stand between, collecting advanced Liberals from Asquith and moderate Laborites from Labor.

The plan is a doubtful one. Labor itself, conservatively led, is suspicious by experience. Liberalism has a stouter hold on the British public than most people realize; and, important token, few of the men so far identified with a movement for a third party, commend themselves to substantial citizens.

Whatever may betide the older parties, or the new Centre party—if it comes, Labor is there to stay. The potential opposition today, it will be the actual ranking opposition tomorrow, and the alternative government when a ministry shall fall. Labor has fought its fight alone, has nothing to gain from either Liberal or Conservative, and, moreover, knows that it is strong enough alone just in proportion as the older parties know they are weak alone.

It may be Labor against a united Liberalism and modified Toryism. It may be Labor against Liberalism, with Toryism harassing the flanks of either.

Figure if how you will, Labor is in.

Translate the British struggle into the political terms of the other nations, and the same situation is reflected. Plain citizenship never so universally held its own.



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